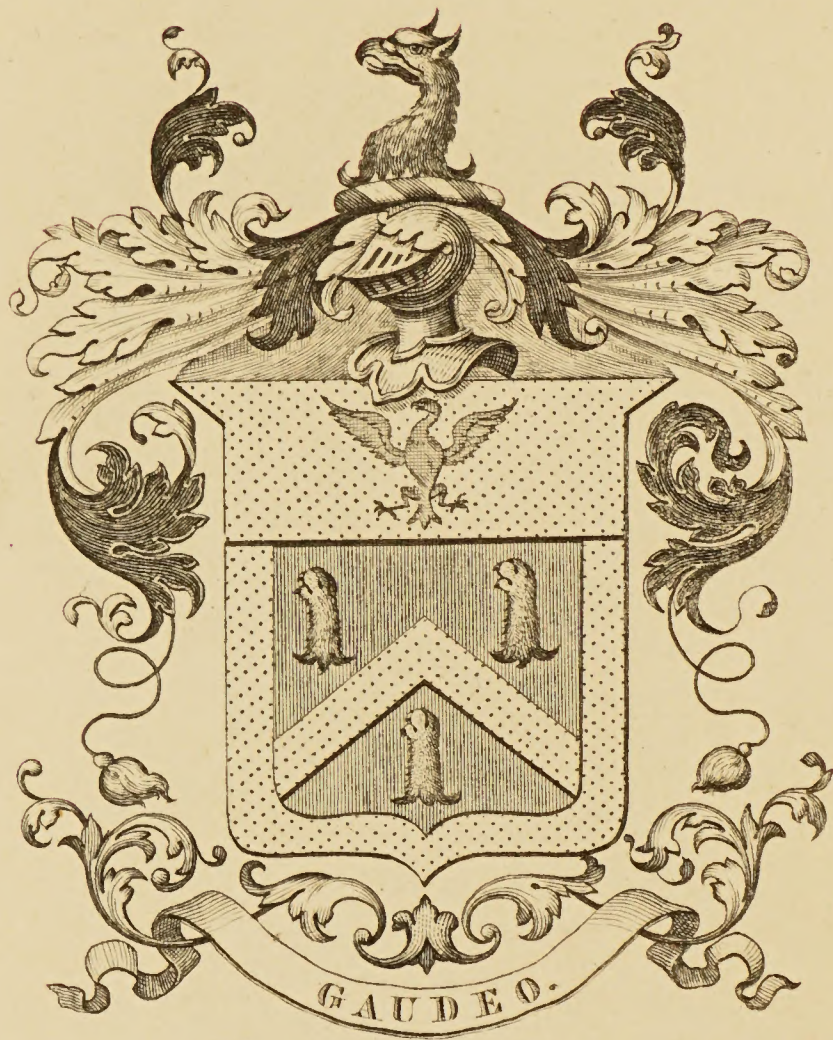


M. 9. 6



John Carter Brown.

This is part of:

An Address... upon Slavery.

Keeping, the Second Edition,

Philadelphia, 1773

Evans 12994/3

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p. 1941

*See Rich No. 16. 1773 for the address
of which this is a vindication.*

V I N D I C A T I O N

OF THE

A D D R E S S S,

To the INHABITANTS of the BRITISH
SETTLEMENTS, on the SLAVERY of
the NEGROES in AMERICA, in An-
swer to a PAMPHLET entitled,

“SLAVERY NOT FORBIDDEN

BY

S C R I P T U R E;

Or a DEFENCE of the WEST-INDIA
PLANTERS from the ASPERSIONS
thrown out against them by the AUTHOR
of the A D D R E S S S.”

Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still SLAVERY thou art a
bitter Draught; and though thousands in all Ages have
been made to drink of thee thou art no less bitter on that Ac-
count. — 'Tis thou thrice sweet, and gracious Goddess LI-
BERTY, whom all in public or in private Worship;
whose Taste is grateful, and ever will be so, till Nature her-
self shall change. — No tint of Words can spot thy snowy
Mantle, or chemic Power turn thy Scepter into Iron.

S T E R N.

BY A PENNSYLVANIAN.

PHILADELPHIA:

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M, DCC, LXXIII.

RPJCB

JOHN CARTER BROWN.

A VINDICATION, &c.

THERE is no Subject so sacred that has not sometimes been exposed to Obloquy. The immortality of the Soul, the Obligations of Morality, and even the Existence of a Supreme Being, have all in their Turns been treated as unworthy of Belief. On the other Hand, there is no Subject so subversive of the Happiness of Mankind, but what has had its Advocates. — Adultery — Perjury, — and even Suicide, have all been defended as lawful. Posterity will hardly believe that human Ingenuity could rise higher, and that a Man had lived, who had undertaken to defend SLAVERY. Should they seek his Name or Country, how will they be surprized to hear that he was descended from a Briton; — that he lived under the Protection of British Laws:—And that he was still connected with Great Britain. The Person I mean is the Author of a Pamphlet, entitled “ Slavery not forbidden by Scripture,
“ or

“or a Defence of the West-India Planters,” &c.
and who calls himself a WEST-INDIAN.

THE Author of this Defence begins, by pleading in behalf of the Slavery of the Negroes in the West Indies, “the imperfections of all “human Institutions*.” This must be acknowledged by every Body, but is by no means an Apology for our not doing every thing that lies in our Power to Remedy them. Shall Judges descend from their Benches, and cease to distribute Justice, because Fraud and Violence still prevail in Society? Shall Physicians cease to relieve the Pains of the Sick, because the Body must at last pay the Tribute to Mortality? Shall the Clergy cease to inculcate the Duties of Religion, because they cannot put an entire stop to the progress of Vice and Infidelity?——

IMPROVEMENTS of all kinds in Society are progressive. It is impossible to review the Constitution and Laws of Great Britain, without admiring the gradual Improvements which have been made in both: Many of
which

* Page 2.

which at their first Proposal were no Doubt treated as visionary and impracticable. The abolition of domestic Slavery is not an Utopian Scheme. It was abolished by Constantine the first Christian Emperor throughout the Roman Empire. It ceased in many parts of Europe after the Reformation. It is unknown in Britain. It's Foundations are now shaking in Spain and Portugal. It begins to loose Ground in America. The Assembly of Virginia have petitioned for a Law to prevent the future importation of Negroes amongst them. The Assembly of Pennsylvania have imposed a Duty of twenty Pounds Currency upon every Negro, imported into the Province. The inhabitants of the Province of Massachusetts Bay have instructed their Representatives to enact Laws to restrain it. Reason and Humanity with respect to Negro Slavery, have at last awakened in the West-Indies, and many respectable Planters now wish to extricate themselves from it. With such Success, and Prospects, I venture once more to take up my Pen in behalf of the poor Africans. Great Events have often been brought about by slender Means. Permanent changes

changes in Government are seldom produced suddenly. It shall be our Business to collect Materials:— The next Generation we hope, will behold and admire the finished **TEMPLE OF AFRICAN LIBERTY IN AMERICA.**

THE Author of the Defence in the next place attempts to prove that Slavery is not forbidden by Moses, the Jewish Lawgiver*; without repeating the Reason mentioned in the Address, for the distinction which was made between Hebrew and Heathen Slaves; and which is not overthrown by our Author's Appeal to the Power of the Supreme Being, I shall remark here, that Providence never employs extraordinary Means to accomplish an End, when ordinary ones will do. Where there is no *Legal* Impediment, we find that differences of Nation—Religion, or even Color, cannot prevent People from marrying amongst each other§. That the Jews should continue a
distinct

* Page 3.

§ “The Africans (who are to be seen in every Corner of the Streets of Lisbon) are allowed to Marry, not only amongst themselves, but also with those of a different Color.
These

distinct People at this Time, under so many Circumstances unfavourable to it, cannot be equalled by any similar Case in History; and therefore has always been looked upon as a standing Miracle.——But again, we are not to set up a few detached Texts of Scripture against the whole Tenor of the Jewish Law. It is not thus we interpret our English Laws, or Acts of Parliament. Can it be supposed that the Supreme Being could deliver a System of Laws that should contradict each other, or favour Injustice and Violence? This would be to degrade him below a Lycurgus, or a Justinian *, or even Mahomet himself †. I shall
only

These strange Combinations have filled this Town with such a variety of odd Faces, as to make a Traveller doubt, whether he is in Europe; and it may be foreseen that in a few Centuries, not a Drop of pure Portugueze Blood will be left here.”

BARETTI'S Travels.

* The three Maxims upon which the Laws of Justinian were founded are “to live honestly; to hurt no one; and to give every Man his Due.”

† Mahomet proclaimed Liberty to all Slaves. He not only emancipated his own Slave, but made him his Friend.

only add further upon this Head, that although the chief Design of rendering the Slavery of the Heathens perpetual, was to prevent the Jews from intermarrying with them, yet this Evil like the Divorces spoken of by our Saviour *, was permitted amongst them, upon the Account of the “Hardness of their Hearts.” “From the beginning it was not so.”—That is, the same Law of Nature, which in the Beginning of the World forbid Divorces, upon trifling Occasions, likewise forbid Slavery. But The depravity of the Jews, and in particular their proneness to mix with, and adopt the Customs of other Nations, rendered a Dispensation from the Rigor of the Moral Law necessary, not only with respect to the keeping of Slaves, but to other things, equally repugnant to its Perfection, and Purity §. But the same Plea cannot

* Matth. xix.

§ “The whole History of the Jews shews that the Pride, Magnificence, Power, and Glory usurped by their Kings, were utterly contrary to the will of God. They did lift up their Hearts above their Brethren, which was forbidden by the Law of God.”

LORD SOMERS.

cannot be made under the Christian Dispensation. Every seeming imperfection which was accommodated to the State of Knowledge, and Society amongst the Jews, was abolished by Christianity; instead of “an Eye for an Eye, or a Tooth for a Tooth,” we are commanded “not to resist Evil, but to him that smiteth on the right cheek, to turn the other also.” Can it be believed that this divine Lawgiver, who inculcated such Patience of Injuries, could approve of an Evil, which involved in it every thing that was destructive to the Happiness of Individuals and Society? * Although he reprov'd Vice in all its shapes, yet (I repeat it again) he maintained a regard to the Roman and Jewish Governments. This appears plain from his ordering Tribute to be paid to Cæsar. It appears likewise from his Behaviour to the Woman caught in Adultery. Had he condemned her, he would have offended against the Roman, and had he acquitted her, he would have abro-

F gated

* “The Gospel is so far from enslaving us, or divesting us of these Rights, and Privileges which we have already, that it encourages us to procure more Liberties and Franchises, if we can come honestly by them. God never commanded any thing contrary to the Law of Nature.”

LORD SOMMERS.

gated that Part of the Jewish Law which related to that Crime. He only commands her to “ go and sin no more.”

The Author of the Defence employs several Pages to shew the Loss that would arise to the Planters, and to Great-Britain, from the Manumission of the Negroes in the West-Indies †. I am far from recommending such a Step to the Planters—It would be as prejudicial to the Slaves as to their Masters. Men used to Slavery, such as prevails in the Southern Colonies and West-Indies, are ever afterwards unfit for Liberty. The first Thing proposed was to leave of importing them. The Evil after this would in some Measure remedy itself. As to the loss Britain would sustain, it should not be mentioned. It hath been proved by Monf. Le Poivre, that she would derive not only Reputation, but immense Riches from it. Many Families in Algiers would perhaps suffer a few temporary Inconveniencies, and the Revenues of that State be lessened, by their calling home their piratical Ships.—But will any Man pretend, upon this Account, to vindicate their
flagrant

† Page 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 29.

flagrant Violations of the Laws of Nature and Nations?—If political Advantages can justify the Infringement of the Laws of Justice and Humanity, then let us cease to look with Horror upon the Massacre of the Protestants in France and Ireland—of the English at Amboyna—and of the Jews in Spain. It cannot be repeated too often, that the Obligations of Morality are alike binding upon Communities and Individuals; and History as well as daily Observation shew us, that they both promote their true Interest in Proportion as they comply with them. The Extract from Mons. Le Poivre, in the Address, may serve as a full Answer to the common Objections of dividing the Lands in the West-Indies among a Number of Freemen, and effectually Refutes all the Arguments adduced from the Expence of Cattle, Sugarworks, and the speedy Fermentation of the Cane Juice. *

OUR

* “ Before Christianity had abolished civil Slavery in Europe, working in Mines was judged too toilsome for any but Slaves, or Malefactors, but at present there are Men employed in them who are known to live happily. To an Increase of Labor, they have joined an Increase of Gain.”

MONTESQUIEU Book v. chap. 8.

OUR Author attempts to palliate the Account given of the Severity of the Punishments inflicted upon the Negroes †. To such as know the Weakness, and Depravity of Human Nature, no Accounts of the Cruelty of these Punishments will appear exaggerated. Invest the proud — passionate — ambitious, and covetous Creature Man, with an absolute Dominion (such as is held in the West-Indies) over the Lordly independant Creature Man, and we may venture from what we know of Human Nature, to tell what will be the Consequence. It is true, as our Author remarks*, most of the Natives of the West Indies are educated in Britain, in the Principles of Liberty and Humanity; but why are they sent from Home to be educated?—Why do Parents give up the most sacred Charge Heaven can deposit in their Hands, the Formation of the Minds of their Children, to Strangers? Why is the Love of their native Country (so necessary in Human Societies) to be weakned, or destroyed by a foreign Education? It is because it is so difficult for them to improve in Learning

† Page 16, 17, 18.

* Page 16.

ing or Virtue at Home, where they are exposed to Vice from every Quarter, and where they breathe nothing but the polluted Atmosphere of Slavery*. But have all the Planters in the West Indies been educated in the Principles of Liberty and Humanity? Or do those who have had a British Education always reside at their Estates, or look after their Negroes? Perhaps they may in some Cases disapprove of their Punishments, these being inflicted by Overseers or their Dependants; yet they are generally too far removed from them to prevent, or regulate them.

IT is to no Purpose to urge here that Self Interest leads the Planters to treat their Slaves well. † There are many things which appear true in Speculation, which are false in Practice. The Head is as apt to mistake its real Interest, as the Heart its real Happiness. It would be
the

* “ The Luxury — Indolence — Pride — and Cruelty of the Masters, have among other Causes been very *justly* attributed to their being bred up amongst Slaves, a prodigious Number of whom are kept on Purpose to wait upon them.” CAMPBELL'S Account of the Portugueze Settlements in America.

† 19, 23.

the Interest of every Man to live agreeable to the Rules of Reason and Morality; but, how few in this Respect pursue their true Interest? It would be the Interest of Great Britain to give over attempting to tax her Colonies: It would be her Interest likewise to abolish Slavery in every Part of her Dominions; but how has she sacrificed her Interest in these Respects, to the Party or private Considerations of a few weak, or bad Men.

I SHALL not leave the Account I have given of the cruel Treatment of the Slaves in the West-Indies to rest upon my own Authority.

THE Rev. Mr. Godwyn a Clergyman of the Church of England, in relating the Difficulties he met with, in endeavouring to instruct the Negroes in Barbadoes, in the principles of Christianity, informs us, that “they treat their Negroes with far less Humanity, than they do their Cattle, for they do not Starve their Horses, nor pinch the Cow by whose Milk they are sustained. The more innocent and laborious are worked to Death. They are
tormented

tormented and whipped almost, and sometimes quite to Death, even for slight miscarriages."

SIR HANS SLOAN (who resided many years in Jamaica) in his Introduction to the Natural History of that Island, gives the following account of the Punishments inflicted on the Negroes. "For Rebellion, the Punishment is burning them, by nailing them down on the Ground, with crooked Sticks on every Limb, and then applying the Fire by Degrees from the Feet and Hands, burning them gradually upon the Head, whereby their Pains are extravagant. For Crimes of a less Nature Castration or chopping off half the Foot with an Axe. For Negligence they are usually Whipped by the Overseers with Lance-wood Switches. After they are whipped 'till they are raw, some put on their Skins Pepper and Salt to make them smart; at other Times their Masters will drop Melted Wax on their Skins, and use several very exquisite Torments."—— I could here add the Testimonies of many Gentlemen of Character who have witnessed Tortures (if possible) more cruel than these, in several of the Islands, and who are ready if required

quired to give in their Names. But for the Honour of Human Nature I shall suppress them. Let not our Author after this, be offended at the harshest Epithets that can be given to those who inflict these Punishments. If he is, let him defend the West-India Planters from the Aspersions of Dr. Campbell, who speaking of the Negroes in the West Indies, says, “ They endure a Slavery more complete, and attended with far worse Circumstances, than what any People in their Condition suffer, in any other Part of the World ; or have suffered, in any other Period of Time §.” Let him defend them from the Aspersions of Huberus, who in his Defence of the necessity of a mild Slavery in some Countries adds, “ I speak only of that kind of Slavery which was in Use amongst civilized Nations — not of that which prevails amongst BARBARIANS, or which the Africans endure in America ||.” Let him defend them from the Aspersions of Dr. Adam Smith, who speaking of the Contempt of Death and Torture which prevails amongst Savage Nations, has the

§ Account of European Settlements in America.

|| Prælect. Jur. civ. Page 48.

the following Passage, “ There is not a Negro from the Coast of Africa, who does not in this Respect possess a Degree of Magnanimity, which the Soul of his sordid Master is too often scarce capable of conceiving. Fortune never exerted more cruelly her Empire over Mankind, than when she subjected those Nations of Heroes, to the Refuse of the Jails of Europe, to Wretches who possess the Virtues neither of the Countries which they come from, nor of those they go to, and whose Levity, Brutality, and Baseness, so justly expose them to the Contempt of the Vanquished. * ” Here I must turn Advocate for the first Inhabitants of the West-India Islands. Many of them fled from religious and civil Persecution. Most of them were descended from the first Families in Great Britain. The first Settlers in Barbadoes in a particular manner, who fled from the Tyranny of Cromwell, carried with them some of the purest Blood in the Nation. But what a Change has Negro-slavery made in some of their Posterity !—— to be mistaken by a most

G ingenious

* Theory of Moral Sentiments.

ingenious Writer, from their “ Levity, Brutality, and Baseness ”—for “ the Refuse of the Jails of Europe ”——In a Word, if our Author means to defend the Slave Trade, or the West-India Planters to any purpose, let him defend them from the Aspersions of Montesquieu, Franklin, Wallis, Hutchinson, Sharp, Hargrave, Warburton, and Forster, who have all employed their Talents against them. The flashes of their Eloquence have long been seen at a Distance. I shall think myself Happy if I have served as an Instrument, of *conducting* them to those Piles of Iniquity, which Slavery has raised in the British Settlements in America.

THE Author of the Defence endeavours to palliate the Severity of the *penal* Laws which relate to Slaves in the West-Indies by saying, that they may appear “ harsh at first Sight * ”. We shall mention a few of them, extracted from the laws of Jamaica, and see whether they do
not

* Page 18.

not appear harsh upon a closer Examination:
“ If a Slave strike a White-Man, two Justices with three Freeholders, may punish him with Death, provided such Offence was not committed by his Master’s Order, or in a legal Defence of *his* Goods.” What a Door is here opened for Injuries of all kinds against the Slaves! — Even Self Preservation, the first Law of Nature, which often shews itself in Instinct, antecendent to the slower Operations of Reason, is here suspended by the Law of the Land *.
“ Killing a Slave found stealing, or running away in the Night, shall be no Damage.”
“ Runaway Slaves may have a Foot cut off by order of two Justices and three Freeholdes.”
“ Persons

* Passive Obedience without Reserve, is charging God with as palpable a Contradiction as any two things can be, it being diametrically opposite to the Law of self Preservation, which is the Law of Nature, and the Decree of the Almighty, which Law is sacred, and not to be infringed by any Man.”

“ He that lets any Person whatsoever destroy him contrary to Law, when it is in his Power to defend himself, does tacitly Consent to his own Death, which he is obliged to defend by the Law of Nature, and therefore is guilty of his own Blood, as well as he that destroys him.”

LORD SOMMERS.

“ Persons wilfully killing Slaves shall for the first time be guilty of Felony, and the second Murder † ”. Where are the Laws in any other civilized Country which make a distinction between a *first* and *second* Murder?—The difficulty of proving this Crime (so much complained of in other Countries) is encreased, by a Negro not being suffered to be a Witness in their Courts. The small number of White People here, renders it extremely difficult to prove this or any other Crime by their Evidence.

I HOPE it will not be thought that I am about to desert the Cause of Humanity, when I maintain with the Author of the Defence, that these severe Laws, and arbitrary Punishments are “ absolutely necessary to the Safety and good Government of the Islands *.” Despotic Governments always require severe Laws. It is the same in Domestic Slavery: The natural Love of Liberty which is common to all Men, and the Love of Ease which is peculiar to the Inhabitants of Warm Climates, can only be overcome

† Abridgement of the Acts of Assembly of Jamaica, No. 70.

* Page 18.

overcome by severe Laws and Punishments. While Slaves are employed in a Climate and Labor, and treated with an Inhumanity, unknown to former Ages — While every Nerve must be kept stretched, and every Pore *constantly* open — While the Ideas of Liberty are kept up in the Minds of any of them, by the yearly Importation of Cargoes from Africa — While they are denied so many of the Necessaries and Comforts of Life, and lastly while their Proportion is so much greater than that of the white People, nothing but the Whip, melted Wax, Brine, the Gallows, the Stake, and the Gibbet, will long prevent Insurrections among them *. Even these

* Dr. Bancroft who resided several Years in the Dutch Settlements at Guiana has the following passage in his Natural History of that Country.

“ The Blacks are at least five Times more numerous than the Whites, and are therefore kept at a submissive and humble Distance by severity of Discipline, which not only contributes to the safety of the White Inhabitants but to the Happiness of the Slaves. The impossibility of obtaining, is ever found to destroy the Desire of Enjoyment; and rigid Treatment by annihilating every Hope of Liberty, renders them Content with Slavery. The late Insurrection of the Slaves in *Berbice* who of all others were the most favoured, affords a recent Example of the Danger of too much Indulgence

these are often ineffectual for that Purpose. In spite of them all, Human Nature is now aiming

gence to Slaves, by which they are excited to attempt the perfect Recovery of their Liberty. In this State there is no Medium, either the Minds of Slaves must be depressed by abject Slavery, or the Lives of their Masters are in eminent Danger. For this Reason they have been oppressed by many humiliating Penalties, and Distinctions. Their evidence relative to a white Person is of no validity; an Attempt to strike a white Inhabitant is punished with Death; and their Masters and Overseers have not only the Power of inflicting Corporal Punishment, but are in some Measure allowed to exercise a Right over their Lives, since the putting a Negro to Death is attended only with a pecuniary Punishment. In this Situation they are subjected to many complicated Species of Misery, exposed to the Tyranny of the Imperious, and the Lust of the Libidinous, and to an incessant Toil, which will have no Period but with their Lives." Page 367, 368.

" It is certain the Treatment of the Negroes in the Plantations is very severe, and the Punishments inflicted upon them for Faults or Neglects very cruel and inadequate. In Capital Cases it is generally attended with Torture. They are often burnt, and frequently hanged up alive. This, besides the Natural Inhumanity of those who have been long among Slaves, are owing to the vast Disproportion between the Whites and Blacks, which *obliges* the former to observe the latter with a stricter Eye, and to chastise them with a severe Hand." WYNNÉ'S History of the British Settlements in America. Page 542. vol. 3.

" The greatest Severities, the most cruel Punishments, are certainly in the present State of things absolutely necessary, on Account of that total want of Principle, and that Malice
and

aiming to regain her Dignity, amongst the
Slaves, in the Brasils, Surinam, and Chili, who
have at last asserted their Liberty*. Are not
these Insurrections the beginnings of universal
Retribution and Vengeance upon European Ty-
ranny, in America? and is it not high time for
Britain

and Dishonesty, which Slavery necessarily introduces into the
Minds of the miserable Subjects of it. It is shocking to think
that those unhappy Victims must from the Nature of the
thing, become more wicked, dangerous and refractory, in
proportion to the Natural greatness of their minds. A
brave ingenuous Principled Slave is indeed a Monster, and
not included in the general Oeconomy of Nature."

Plan for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies. P. 12,

" It is certain these Punishments (formerly mentioned by
Sir Hans Sloan) are sometimes merited by the Blacks, who
are a very perverse Generation, and though they may appear
harsh are scarce equal to some of their Crimes."

Introduction to the Natural History of Jamaica.

* " There is more Reason to believe that Passive Obedience
is a damnable Doctrine, than the contrary; for it is inconsistent
with those glorious Attributes of the Deity, by which we be-
lieve him to be a God of infinite Love, Mercy and Compas-
sion to all Mankind, and no respecter of Persons; for that
Doctrine makes him an unmerciful, cruel, tyrannical God,
in making all Mankind that they may be used as Beasts, at
the Will and Pleasure of a few of their Fellow Creatures,
who are but their Equals, till they make them supreme
Heads, or Governors."

L O R D S O M M E R S .

Britain to change her Conduct, and to adopt some safe and equitable means of abolishing Slavery in her Colonies. ?

THE Author of the Defence endeavours to strengthen his Cause by degrading the Genius and Manners of the Africans, below the ordinary rank of human Creatures †. Few Travellers possess Abilities, Introductions, or Languages, proper to acquire a complete knowledge of National Characters. Nations often differ widely in the compass of a few Years, and even the same Nation is different, in different parts of the same Kingdom. How widely do the Manners of the Chinese differ according to Du Haldt, and the Author of Lord Anson's Voyage round the World. The one describes the interior parts of the Country, the other, a Sea-port town. Human Nature is the same in all Ages and Countries; and all the difference we perceive in its Characters in respect to Virtue and Vice, Knowledge and Ignorance, may be accounted for from Climate, Country, Degrees of Civilization,

† Page 21, 22, 23, 24.

on, form of Government, or other accidental causes, “ Mankind (says that Citizen of the World Mr. Baretti) are of one great Family, and he is not a Friend to that Family, who contributes his Mite towards keeping it in Discord, by partial and false Representations. It is the Devil’s Business to spread such erroneous Notions, that Men may not consider themselves as Brothers, but contemn and hate each other.”

WITHOUT availing myself of the Authorities of Smith, Adanson, Astley, Bosman, and others who speak in high Terms of the Africans, I shall allow that many of them are inferior in Virtue, Knowledge, and the love of Liberty to the Inhabitants of other parts of the World : but this may be explained from *Physical* causes. The different Nations of Africa are divided from each other by vast tracts of uninhabited Lands. This is the reason why this quarter of the Globe has never been the seat of a wide extended Empire; and hence the Natives continue chiefly in a Savage or Barbarous State, for Arms (on which extensive Empire has always been founded) and the Arts of Civilization

H have

have generally travelled together. Moreover the Heat of the Climate in Africa, by bringing on Indolence of Mind, and Body, exposes them at all Times to Slavery, while the Fertility of the Soil renders the Want of Liberty a less Evil to them, than it is to the Inhabitants of Northern, or less Warm and fruitful Countries†. These last Causes, have likewise fixed Slavery in Asia: but from the undivided Nature of this Country, it has not been confined as in Africa to petty Monarchies, but extended through large Empires: Hence the Asiatics are a civilized People.

C O U L D it be proved, that the Negroes are the only People in the World, who are ignorant of a Supreme Being, or that Worship Idols, it might add Weight to our Author's Argument* derived from these Facts, to shew that they are an inferior Race of Men. Human Inventions in all Ages have corrupted Natural, as well as Revealed Religion. The Natives of Peru so famous in History, were discovered in a State of the most blind Idolatry; Examples of the same Kind are to be found without Number, in
the

† Montesquieu;
* Page 16.

the Accounts of Travellers, of every Age and Country. In the Polite City of Athens, there were many who worshipped an “unknown God,” and in Ephesus others, who lived altogether “without God in the World.”

THE best Definition that can be given of Man is, that he is a Creature capable of Religion. Who has not heard of the Christian Church in Africa? If Christianity has made less Progress, and been more corrupted in this Country than in many others, it must be ascribed among other Causes to its opposing Polygamy, a vice to which the Heat of the Climate, the early Maturity, and speedy Decay of the Women, and the peculiar fertility of the Soil, strongly disposes them. It is owing to the less severe Restraints which Mahomet laid upon this Vice, that his Religion continues to prevail throughout the greatest Part of this Country.*

OUR Author's last Charge against the Genius and Manners of the Africans, is founded upon their being “unacquainted with Friendship and Gratitude,” and upon their being “separated

* Montesquies.

parated from their nearest Relations without looking after them, or bidding them farewell.*” Friendship and Gratitude are founded upon the Wants and Weaknesses of Man in a State of Society. If any of the Negroes appear to be Strangers to these Virtues, it must be ascribed to their independent Mode of Life, as Savages, which exempts them from most of those Weaknesses, and artificial Wants, which are introduced by civilized Life. The Savage is indebted entirely to his Bow and Fishing Rod, for his Support. The Woods and Brooks, by satisfying chief of his Desires, raise him above the Obligations of Friendship and Gratitude. They likewise, by precluding all comparative Ideas, render him a Stranger to Envy and Ambition. The seeming Indifference with which some of the Negroes part from their Relations, must be ascribed in like Manner to their Character as Savages; it being esteemed amongst them the highest Mark of Heroism to bear the utmost Degrees of Pain and Misery without complaining. But this Insensibility to the Ties of Nature, Friendship, and Gratitude,

is

* Page 22, 23.

is far from being general amongst the Negroes. The Natives of Congo, I have been informed by a Gentleman who has witnessed the Sale of many Cargoes of Slaves in the West-Indies, always show Signs of Grief upon being parted from their Friends, and Relations. The Cormanties are always prone to Insurrections. The Natives of Angola generally seek to destroy themselves*. The Degrees of Natural Affection, Love of Liberty, and Resentment, discovered by the Negroes, are always proportioned to the Progress they had made in political, and domestic Happiness, in their own Country.

THE Amusements, Songs &c†, of the Negroes, are urged as signs of their Happiness, or Contentment in Slavery. Every one knows how often the Mind flies to these, to relieve itself from Melancholy. Although some of their Songs, like those of *civilized* Nations, are

* Two Negro Men a few Years ago in the Island of St. Croix were observed to be much affected upon being sold apart. Their Masters lived at a Distance from each other. They both ran away at once, and after being absent two Weeks, were found in a lonely place, hanging dead in each others Arms, on the Limb of a Tree.

† Page 27.

are Obscene and Warlike, yet I have been informed that many of them, as well as their Tunes, are of a most plaintive Nature, and very expressive of their Misery.

To a Mind divested of those Prejudices with which Custom leads us to view objects, the same Follies and Vices will appear under different forms in every state of Society, not only in the Individuals of the different Ranks and Characters of Mankind, but amongst different Nations likewise.

WHERE is the difference between an African Prince, with his face daubed with Grease, and his Head adorned with a Feather; and a modern Macaroni with his artificial Club of Hair daubed with Powder and Pomatum? Where is the difference between the British Senator who attempts to enslave his fellow subjects in America, by imposing Taxes upon them contrary to Law and Justice; and the American Patriot who reduces his African Brethren to Slavery, contrary to Justice and Humanity? Where is the difference between the sceptical Philosopher who will not allow
those

those Men to be his equals in Genius or Manners, who differ from him in a few trifling Customs; and the bigotted Christian who will not allow those Christians to partake of the merits of his Saviour who mix with their worship a few trifling Ceremonies? Where is the difference between the Mahometan Negro who maintains three or four Wives agreeable to the Religion of his Country; and the European Christian who keeps three or four Mistresses contrary to the Religion of his Country? Where is the difference between the Pagan Negro who worships an evil Spirit, and uses a few ceremonies at a Funeral; and the superstitious Christian who worships God from a fear of the Devil, and connects his future Happiness with a Sacrament before, and a Funeral right after, his Death? Where is the difference between the African Savage, whose scanty wants are supplied by Nature; and the European Nobleman, whose numerous wants are supplied by Art? They are both alike free from the Obligations of Friendship and Gratitude*. It would lead us too far from

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* "*Vere Amicitia rarissime inveniuntur in iis qui in honoribus, reque publica versantur.*"

CICERO.

our subject to shew in how many other Instances, the same rural sports, the same violent and lasting Resentments, the same Arts of Address and Diffimulation, and the same want of Affection in the Union of the sexes, Mark a Resemblance between the extremes of civilized, and the savage Life.—Lastly; where is the difference between that civilized Nation that yearly destroys 50,000 souls by her Trade under the sanction of Laws; and that barbarous Nation which destroys the same number with the Sword, without the sanction of Laws? The proportion of Vice is the same in both Nations. In the latter it appears like certain Diseases in strong Constitutions upon the Extremities and surface of the Body, whereas in the former it is thrown upon the Vitals. Still however, like the dreaded Worm of Africa it spreads its malignant Influence to every part of the Body, and unless it be wholly extracted, will at last end in its entire Dissolution. But supposing our Author had proved the Africans to be inferior in every thing to the Inhabitants of

“ Pity, Benevolence and *Friendship*, are things almost unknown in high Stations.”

BOLINBROKE.

of the other quarters of the Globe will his Cause derive any strength from it? Would it avail a man to plead in a Court of Justice that he defrauded his Neighbour, because he was inferior to him in Genius or Knowledge?

W A S I an arbitrary Prince in a Country whose Laws punished the lowest degree of Inferiority of Genius or Manners with perpetual Slavery, and should a Man claim a fellow subject for a Slave upon the best proofs of his being deficient in both,—I would suffer the unfortunate Criminal to go free, and inflict upon the Prosecutor the whole penalty of the Law. This Man's Genius and Manners above all others, would render him fit for nothing but Slavery.

I come now to enquire into the causes which have prevented the encrease of the Negroes in the West-Indies. These must be sought for, not in their “carelessness in preserving their Health †” as our Author supposes, but in their peculiar situation and manner of Life as Slaves. The Africans multiply in their own Country with a Rapidity that is hardly credible, and

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from

from their Color and certain Customs* which Experience has taught them, they are exempted from those Diseases which prove so fatal to the Europeans that come amongst them.

THREE Causes concur to check Population in a Country, namely, Luxury, Debauchery, and Slavery. The first of these by encreasing our wants, encreases the difficulties of supporting a Family; the second renders the Sexes unfit, while the last abates the Appetite, for propagating the Species. All these produce their Effects according to their Degree, or according to their being more or less combined. Slavery operates differently, whether it be of a political, or domestic Nature. Political Slavery in some Countries has but little influence upon Population, such as in some parts of Asia, and Africa. In others it operates against it, as in Russia, and most of the states of Italy. Domestic Slavery in like manner

* The chief of these is anointing their Bodies with Palma Oil in the wet Seasons.

BARBOT'S Account of Africa, Page 105.

ner sometimes exists under such alleviations as to have little influence upon Population. This was the case in Egypt. The Israelites multiplied in a rapid manner during their Captivity. That they were treated with Lenity we learn from the history of Joseph. Had Masters possessed a right over the Lives of their Slaves, Potiphar would have avenged the dishonour Joseph was accused of attempting to bring on his Bed, and not have consigned him over to be tried, condemned and punished by the municipal Law of the Country. Slaves encreased nearly in the same proportion as Freemen in the virtuous Ages of the Roman Empire. We read of some who owned 10,000, and others 20,000 of them. That the Romans treated their Slaves with Lenity, we learn from the testimony of Seneca*. It is true the Romans imported many Slaves from the Barbarous Countries they subdued, but this was in the declension of their Empire. It was not 'till this time that we read of the Ergastula, or House of Correction for Slaves. They partook of the dissolute manners of their Masters

* Epist. 47.

ters, and therefore foreign supplies were necessary to repair the waste which Debauchery had introduced amongst them. It is true also, the right of Life was held over Slaves, and Tortures were inflicted upon them in criminal Cases: But the same right was held by the Romans over their own Children, and Tortures were inflicted in like cases upon Freemen. They were seldom put in Execution upon either, in the early Ages of the Empire. Slaves multiplied among the antient Germans, by whom they were treated with the Familiarity of Children, according to the Testimony of Tacitus*. Slaves have multiplied moreover in the Northern and Middle Colonies of America. But in the West-Indies they have never encreased by ordinary Population. We shall first prove this Fact, and then assign the reasons of it.

LIGON in his Account of Barbadoes tells us that in the year 1646 there were 20,000 Whites on that Island, besides, to use his own Words “a far greater number of Blacks”. In the year 1676 the Negroes in Barbadoes amounted to
above

* De Morib. German. Chap. 20, 25.

above one hundred thousand *. Upon a Parliamentary enquiry into the state of the African Trade in the year 1728 it appeared that in three years only the number of Negroes imported into Barbadoes, Jamaica, and Antigua amounted to 42,000, besides what were carried to St. Kitts, Nevis, and Monferrat. From this it appears, that the Island of Jamaica, allowing it only an equal proportion with Barbadoes and Antigua, imported 14,000 Negroes in three years. When we consider the great increase of the demand for Sugar, and the other Produce of that Island, since the year 1728, we cannot admit of less than 5,000 Negroes being imported there every year since. Let us now enquire what is the present number of the Negroes in these Islands. In Barbadoes § they do not exceed

100,000,

* Campbell's European Settlements in America.

§ " The Island of Barbadoes notwithstanding all the Means they use to encrease their Negroes by Propagation, notwithstanding that the Climate in every Respect, except in being more Wholesome, resembles the Climate from whence they came, notwithstanding all this, Barbadoes lies under a Necessity of an annual Recruit of five thousand Slaves to keep up their Stock. This prodigious Failure which is at least, in
the

100,000, and in Jaimaica they do not amount to 200,000. If in the latter they have encreased by a few thousands within these forty years it is not owing to ordinary Population, but to the many new Estates which have lately been settled on that Island. When we look back and estimate the numbers which have been sacrificed by this Trade, and when we look forward, and estimate the encreasing proportion which it must destroy, if it continues upon its present footing †, we would wish to forget the obligations

the same Proportion in all our Islands, shews that some uncommon and insupportable Hardships lye upon the Negroes, which wear them in such a surprizing Manner."

CAMPBELL'S European Settlements.

"Allowing the Number of Negroes to be 100,000 they are entirely renewed every twenty Years." What then must we think of the Management of a People, who far from encreasing greatly as those who have no loss by Wars ought to do, must in so short a Space of Time as twenty Years, without foreign Recruits be entirely consumed to a Man." Ibid.

† The Number of Negroes imported one Year with another from Africa to America, amounts to 200,000, a fourth Part of which falls to the Share of the British Colonies and Islands. In the Year 1768 they imported 104,000. Computing each Negro at £ 30 Sterling, they pay £ 1500,000 a Year for Slaves. Five thousand seven hundred and thirty one were imported into Charlestown between November 1772, and July 1773. A few of them were brought from the West Indies

tions we owe to Justice, Humanity, Religion, and to the British name. What War, or Pestilence ever made such Havock with the human species? Spaniards blush at the Recital of the Massacre of the Indians in South America, and wish to blot it out of their Histories*. But Britons, once famed thro' every quarter of the Globe for their love of Justice, Humanity and Liberty, — nay more, British Americans, the descendants of those illustrious Men of whom Britain at one period of her History was not worthy, — British Americans, who a few years ago risked their all in opposing the claims of the British Parliament; these very Americans, have fallen into a trade more destructive to
their

Indies. “The Negroes sent from Jamaica to the Continent of America (says Sir Hans Sloane) are only the Sick and the Mutinous.” They do not amount to one twentieth Part of the Number who perish yearly in that Island.

* The same Crimes amongst different Nations and Ages, often seek to screen themselves under the same Sanctuary. Lopez de Gomara the Spanish Historian who relates this Event, attempts to justify it, by degrading the Genius and Manners of the Indians below those of Human Creatures, for, says he, “they eat Lice and Worms, they intoxicate themselves with a Wine made of Indian Corn, also with the smoke of Tobacco, and they pluck out their Beards”

General History of the Indies, Chap. 219.

their fellow Creatures than Spanish tortures, they have pursued it upwards of an hundred years, and what is more — they defend it as lawful.

HAVING proved that the Negroes in the West-Indies do not encrease by ordinary population, I come now to enquire into the Reasons of it.

OF the three Causes we mentioned which concur to check Population, the two last, namely, Debauchery, and Slavery, act chiefly upon the Negroes. Dr. Bancroft ascribes their Decrease entirely to Debauchery*, but we shall find

* In these as well as in all other West India Colonies the Slaves diminish in Number unless recruited by successive Supplies from Africa. This Decrease has been attributed to various Causes, commonly to hard Labor, though with very little appearance of Reason, since they are more Robust, Healthy and Vigorous than their Masters. The true Cause of their Want of Increase results from the Intercourse of the Whites with the young Wenches, who derive no inconsiderable Emolument therefrom, and as childbearing would put an end to this Commerce, they viciously use every Precaution to avoid Conception; and if these prove ineffectual, they even procure repeated Abortions, which incapacitates them for
Child

find that Slavery (under its peculiar aggravations in the West-Indies) has a great share in destroying them. The Appetite for propagating the Species amongst the Blacks, bears no relation to the heat of the Climate, or to the degrees of the same Appetite in the White People. A greater proportion of Infants than in other Countries, perish in their Birth*. Their Children besides being subject to all the numerous Diseases of Children in warm Countries, have one that is peculiar to them, and which arises from their peculiar Circumstances as Slaves, which proves

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fatal

Child bearing in a more advanced Age. This unnatural Practice is very frequent, and of the highest Detriment to the Planters."

Natural History of Guiana. Page 372, 373.

* Dr. George Taylor an eminent Physician and Manmidwife at St, Kitts informed me that the Negro Women in that Island have very difficult, and sometimes preternatural Births. He attributed it to the Pelvis being distorted, by the Kicks they get when young, and to the Hardships they undergo during their Pregnancy. The white Women he adds, have very easy and safe Births. Childbearing is attended with little Pain and Danger in all warm Countries.

Dr. Bancroft says the Indian Women in Guiana seem to be exempted from the Curse inflicted upon Eve. The same has been remarked of the Women in many Parts of Africa.

fatal to Numbers*. The Want of Confidence in Fathers in the Fidelity of their Wives, and the

* This Disease is called by some of the Natives the *Jaw-Fall*. It is a species of the Tetanus. The late Dr. Cadwallider Evans of this City, who practised Physic several Years in Jamaica, informed me that it was very common among the Negro Children in that Island.

Dr. Chevalier in his "Lettres sur Les Maladies de St. Dominique," gives the following Account of this Disorder, "Le mal de mâchoire, ou le *Tetanos* des Enfans est presque incurable. Il a différentes Causes. La plus ordinaire est le trop de feu que les Négresses accouchées font dans leur Case; à laquelle on peut ajoûter la fumée continuelle, car elles n'ont point de Cheminée. par la Chaleur du feu les Enfans sont souvent in sueur, et la mondre fraîcheur, fait Impression sur les Nerfs délicats de ces jeunes Créatures. Une autre Cause fort ordinaire de cette Maladie sont les Passions de la mere, et la maniere dont elle a vécu dans sa Grossesse."

"Il y a de certaines Habitations, ou presque, tous les enfans meurent, du Mal de Machoire. Ce Malheure, cause beaucoup de perte aux Habitans."

Lettre Premiere.

"The Jaw Disorder, or the Tetanus of the Children, is almost always incurable. It has different Causes. The most ordinary is the large Fires which the Negro Women have in their Huts when they lie inn. To which we may add the continual Smoke of these Fires, for their huts have no chimnies in them to carry it off; the Children are by these means thrown into Sweats, so that the least Cold makes an impression upon their Delicate Nerves. Another ordinary cause of this Disease, is the Passions of the Mother during her Pregnancy. There are certain places where almost all the Children die of it. This misfortune causes a great loss to the Inhabitants."

the Wretchedness of Mothers, have always been found to lessen that care which is the Offspring of Natural Affection in Parents for their Children. This Disregard in Parents for their Posterity, is encreased among the Slaves in the West Indies by the Reflection of the Misery they have entailed upon them;—here then we discover another Source of Accidents and Mortality among the Negro Children.

I M U S T not omit taking Notice of a Disease called the *Seasoning*, which destroys many of the Negroes. It arises partly from their unwholesome Diet † on Shipboard, and partly from the
 . Hippochondriac

† Il est rare, que les Esclaves, qu' on apporte de Guinée, soient attaqués de fièvre maligne; Mais quelques-uns, principalement les Junes, jusqu'à l'âge de quatorze ou quinze sont sujets à une Maladie que l'on appelle Mal D'Estomac. Ils sentent de la Douleur à la Région épigastrique, tout le corps est pesant, le Sommeil les accable, en marchant, en travaillant; ils voudroient être toujours couchés; il faut les battre pour les faire lever; & les Outils en travaillant tombent des mains, ils ont une faim dévorant. on ne peut les rassasier. Cette maladie vient de la nourriture grossière qu'on leur a donnée toute la traversée, car ils ne mangent que fèves de marais cuites avec du sel, & peut-être quelque graisse."

Lettres par M. le Dr. Chevalier sur les Maladies de St. Dominique.

" The

Hippocondriac Disorder, which their new and wretched Manner of Life brings on them. Now when we add to all these, the hard Labor which the Negroes undergo in a Climate not intended for it—their spare Diet * —and their intemperance

“ The Slaves who are brought from Guinea are seldom attacked with a malignant fever, but some of them, especially those about fourteen or fifteen years of age are subject to a disease which is called the *Disorder of the Stomach*. They feel a pain in the Epigrastric Region, the whole body is unwieldy, and sleep weighs them down in walking, and at work. Their working instruments fall from their hands. They incline always to be in bed, and it is necessary to beat them to make them get up. They have a voracious appetite, which is never satisfied. This disease arises from the gross food which is given them on their passage, for they eat nothing but masha beans dressed with salt and sometimes a little fat.”

* Upon deducting all the Expences of fresh Negroes, Taxes, Doctors fees for attending them when Sick, Accidents happening to Cattle and Mills, Land Carriage, &c. All the Profits of the Sugar Trade to Great Britain and the Planters, have appeared upon a nice Calculation to be saved from the Food and Cloaths of the Negroes. That many of them have been abridged in the last Article, appears from the following Act of Assembly.

“ All Slaves shall have Cloaths, that is, Men Jackets and Drawers, and Women Jackets and Petticoats, or Frocks once every Year, on or before the 25th Day of December, upon Penalty of five shillings for every Slave's wanting.”

Laws of Jamaica, No. 70,

“ The

pearance in drinking the most pernicious Liquors; we may account for the immense Waste of them in the West-Indies. They all stand charged upon Slavery.

I K N O W it has been said by some, that the Climate of the West-Indies destroys many of the Negroes. But Experience convinces us that this is not the Case. They are even exempted from the most fatal epidemic Diseases to which the White People are subject. Nor should the Mortality among the Whites be attributed entirely to the Climate. The most populous Nations, and the longest lived People, have always been found in warm Countries. The Mortality of the Europeans arises from their carrying with them to the West-Indies their European Diet, and Manners. † These, together with that Luxury which is founded on the
Labor

“ The Negroes in the Plantations are subsisted at an easy Rate. Some support themselves by working on Saturdays and Sundays; others are supported with an *Allowance* of Guinea or Indian Corn, a salt Herring, or a small quantity of Bacon, or salt Pork, a Day. All the rest of the Charge consists in a Cap, a Shirt, a pair of Breeches, Stockings and Shoes. The whole not exceeding forty Shillings a Year.”

CAMPBELL'S European Settlements.

† Lind's Diseases of warm Climates.

Labor of the Negroes, have prevented the Increase of White People in the Islands. The Assembly of Jamaica have in vain attempted, by Laws made for that Purpose, to encourage Artificers and Labourers (who constitute the greatest Body of the People in all Countries) to settle amongst them. They can never reconcile themselves to working with Slaves. It is owing to these Causes, that the Number of White People in Jamaica has not exceeded 30,000 at one time, in the Course of Ninety Years. Compare this, with the Province of Pennsylvania, whose inhabitants in the same Space of Time, from ordinary Population and the Accession of Strangers, have amounted to near 400,000 Souls. In these consist the true Riches* and Glory of Britain. “ In the Multitude of People is the King’s Honor, but in the Want of People is the Destruction of a Prince.” †

T H U S we see that the Slave Trade is not only repugnant to Religion, and the true Interests of our Mother Country, but that it offers Violence to the
 œconomy

* The Exports from Great Britain to the English West Indies from 1754, to 1758 inclusive, amounted to £ 3,765,000 Sterling. To the Colonies in the same Time, 7,410,000
 The Difference in behalf of the latter - - - 3,645,000

‡ Prov. xiv. 28.

œconomy of Nature. The Air—the Sea—Heaven and Earth—all the Elements, conspire against it.

The Author of the Defence endeavours to shelter the West-India Planters under the Practices of some of the “ firmest Supporters of Religion in England, both of the Clergy and Laity‡.” The greatest Sanctity of Office, and the highest attainments in Wisdom, will not always preserve Men from Vice and Error.* The Clergy of every Church are as apt to confound the Attributes of the Deity, with a few detached Passages

* The Author of the Treatise upon the Trade from Great Britain to Africa uses the following Arguments in Defence of the Slave Trade, “ What vain pretence of Liberty can infatuate People to run into such Licentiousness, as to assert a Trade is unlawful which Custom immemorial, and various Acts of Parliament have given a Sanction to? Could they support their enthusiastical Arguments, the African Trade would be effectually ruined, for at present the richest Adventures in it, are such Men as would scorn to be engaged in any Pursuit, but what the Laws of God, and Man would fully sanctify. Can the Defender of the *Faith*, and their most *Catholic* and *Christian* Majesties join in a Trade illicit in its Principles, and dishonorable in its Pursuit? Where slept the Pope’s Thunders, while these Dominions were under his sway, that he never vindicated the universal Right of Freedom? How came it that no Nation ever yet asserted so natural a Privilege, if it had from the first, Religion, and Reason for its Foundation?” ——— For this Performance the Society of African Merchants voted public Thanks to be given to the Author. ‡ Page 30.

Passages in the Scriptures, as Lawyers are, to confound Natural Equity with Acts of Parliament, or as Physicians are, to mistake the Operations of Nature for those of Medicine. A Planter in one of the West-India Islands who felt some uneasiness in his Mind from keeping Negro Slaves, wrote lately to a learned Divine in London, to know whether it was unlawful. The Divine wrote for answer, that the Jews had Slaves—that it was not forbidden in the New Testament—that domestic Slavery had existed in every Age and Corner of the World—and that by treating his Slaves well, he committed no Crime in keeping them. Had this Planter listened a little longer to the Voice of Heaven, speaking in his Heart, or consulted the whole Tenor of his Bible, he would have received a very different Answer to his Question. I beg leave to add here, that the same Arguments derived from Scripture and Precedents, which establish domestic, likewise establish political Slavery. The Jews, God's peculiar People, were under Bondage to the Egyptians, and unless we oppose the whole Spirit of Christianity, to a few single Precepts, St. Paul's advice to the

Romans

Romans † is a much stronger Proof of the Lawfulness of political Slavery, than any yet adduced from the Old or New Testament, in Favor of the Lawfulness of domestic Slavery. If domestic Slavery is agreeable to the Will and Laws of God, political Slavery is much more so.—Then it follows, that our British Constitution was obtained unjustly—King Charles the First did no wrong—Passive Obedience was due to Oliver Cromwell—King James the Second was the Lord's Anointed—The Revolution was a Rebellion—King William was a Tyrant—The illustrious House of Hanover are Usurpers—and the Right of the British Parliament to tax the American Colonies, is unlimited and indisputable.—Ancient and modern Precedents should have no Weight in this Dispute; for political as well as domestic Slavery, has existed amongst civilized Nations in every Age, and Corner of the World. But has its Iron Sceptre been softened, by the few despotic Kings who have been wise and just, and the few Nations which have lived happily and flourished in that State? In a Word, if we reason from Example, where shall we stop? For where is the

L

Error

† “ Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers. For there is no Power but of God: the Powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.”

Chap. xiii.

Error, or Vice, that has not been admitted as true, or practised as lawful, in some Age or Country?
 “ There is a Way which seemeth right unto a Man; but the end thereof are the Ways of Death.” ¶

THE Reader will here pardon my saying a Word or two of myself. I am called upon by the Author of the Defence to answer a Question.—Should I become “ an Owner of a West-India Estate by the Death of a Relation, or some other unexpected Means,” he desires to know “ whether I could lay my Hand on my Heart, and say, with a safe Conscience, that I would instantly free all my Slaves, and destroy my Sugar Works.” Suppose I should refuse to do this, the Subject remains where it did,—I should then commit a Crime for which I should *justly* “ loose the Esteem of Men of Sense, and of a rational Way of thinking.”

AND now my West-India Friend, give me leave in my turn to ask you a few Questions. Lay your Hand upon *your* Heart, and tell me; would you like to be sold, for no fault, or torn against your will from your Sisters and Brothers, and carried into a foreign Country, to be subjected to the absolute dominion of a Master; to be obliged to labor without intermission, to cease to make any further improve-
 ments

ments in Virtue or Knowledge; to be fed and cloathed scantily; to be tempted by your situation to all the low Vices of Slavery, to be punished in the most cruel manner if you attempted to regain your Liberty; Would you like to be told, if you should complain of your hard fate, that the "Imperfection of Human Society" required that you should be a Slave; that Moses the Jewish Law-giver commanded it, that the Gospel did not proclaim a jubilee to Slaves*; that you had "no Genius" that Mr. Hume had said, from your Ignorance of the Religion, and your backwardness in acquiring the Language, and Learning of the Country you were in, you belonged to an inferior race of Men,† that you wanted feeling, because Resentment, and the prospect of greater Misery absorbed the Grief you would otherwise have shewed upon parting with your Family; that your Master was "educated in a Country of Liberty and Humanity," and that it was his "interest to treat you well"; that the Tortures inflicted upon you for attempting to regain your Liberty, "were inferior to those inflicted upon Damien, and the Conspirators against the Life of the present King of Portugal"; § that "all Happiness was comparative"; that you were "much happier than the Peasants of Scotland, Ireland, and Poland;" * that upon the whole

† Page 21. § Page 19. * Page 29.

whole your situation was more to be envied than pitied, “and that you might quit the World with the certainty that your Children would be treated with the same care you had experienced yourself” †?— I anticipate your Answer to these Questions. You would not. Then Sir pause a few Minutes, and reflect upon what you have done. You have called in question the Justice and goodness of the Supreme Being. You have charged the FATHER of Mankind with being the Author of the greatest Evils to his Children. You have aimed to establish Principles, which justify the most extensive and cruel Depradations which have been made by Conquerors and Tyrants, upon the Liberties and Lives of Mankind, and which at the same time condemn those glorious Events, and illustrious Men, that Britain and her Colonies, are indebted to for their Liberty and Prosperity. You have misrepresented the true Interests of our Mother Country. You have attempted to palliate Crimes which are founded on a Pride and Depravity of Soul, unavoidable in Masters and Slaves in the West-Indies. You have thrown a Veil over the true Causes which destroy so many Thousands of your fellow Creatures every year. You have (to use your own Words) “unworthily traduced” not “many of my valuable Friends” § but the *whole* of your

† Page 2. § Preface to the Defence, Page 1.

own Brethren—the poor Africans. You have attempted to sink Creatures, formed like yourself, in the Image of God, and equally capable of Happiness both here and hereafter, *below* the rank of “Monsters and Barbarians” §, or even Brutes themselves. You have ——— but I forbear to add to the Reproaches to which you have exposed yourself.——— “As a Person cannot err so grossly as not to be able to make Atonement” || I hope you will not fail immediately to ask forgiveness of your Maker, and your Country, for the Attack you have made upon the Rights of Mankind.

PERHAPS some of my West-India Readers are waiting to see an Apology, for the Account I have given in the Address of the Punishments inflicted upon the Negroes in the West-Indies. If they are, they will certainly be mistaken. Although the Address “was written hastily,” yet the most ingenious Tortures that ever were inflicted upon a West-India Slave, should not prevail upon me to acknowledge, that it was written “without sufficient Proofs of what I advanced*.” The Authorities upon which I have rested all my Facts, cannot be contradicted. But I am far from applying the Account that is given of the inhuman Practices of *some* Masters, to

ALL

§ Preface to the Defence, Page 2.

|| Defence, Page 30. * Page 30.

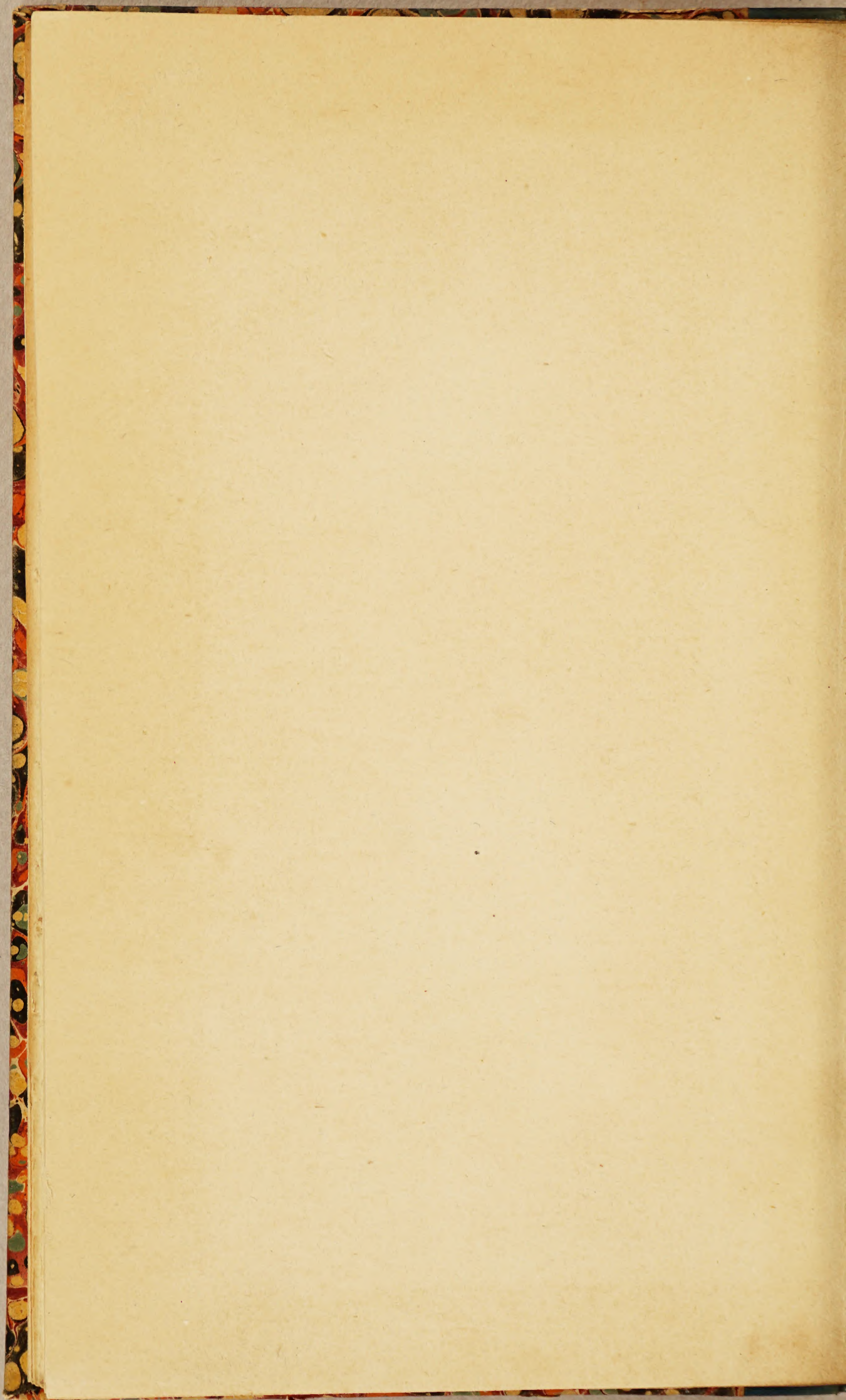
ALL the Planters in the West-Indies. If it is unfair to reason against the Practice of any Thing in itself lawful, from its Abuse; it is not so, to reason against Practices, in themselves unlawful, from their Abuse. The rankest Weeds, and the most delicious Fruits, often grow in the same Soil. I honour the West-Indians for their Hospitality, Generosity, and Public Spirit. I have had the Pleasure of knowing many of them, who were distinguished for their Humanity, and every other Virtue that could adorn human Nature. There are some Metals so pure that they receive no Rust from being exposed to the moistest Atmosphere; so there are some Dispositions naturally so good, that they cannot contract the least soile of Vice—even from Slavery.

I HAVE avoided as much as possible every Thing through the whole of this Vindication, that could draw me from my Subject to the Author of the Defence. I shall not even give him the Pain of repeating here the many unkind Insinuations and Reflections he has thrown out against me. He was perhaps warm when he wrote them—When he cools, I am persuaded he will be “ sorry for his ungenerous abuse of a man who never injured him,”† or any other *Individual* born in the West-Indies.

† Page 30.

F I N I S.

3)



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